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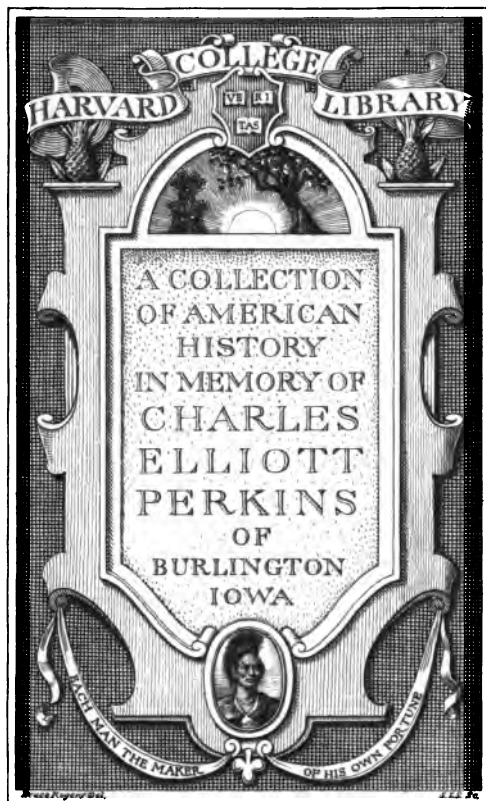
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Johnson - The Social Evil

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THE SOCIAL EVIL.

THE HONESTY AND VIRTUE OF THE CITIZEN THE ONLY SAFETY
OF THE GOVERNMENT.

S P E E C H

OF

LIEUT. GOV. CHAS. P. JOHNSON,

ON THE BILL TO ABOLISH THE SO-CALLED

SOCIAL EVIL LAW

OF THE

CITY OF ST. LOUIS.

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE OF MISSOURI, THURSDAY,
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S P E E C H .

The Senate being in Committee of the Whole,

Mr. JOHNSON said: MR. CHAIRMAN.—It has not been my custom to take part in the discussions of the Senate, and I would not do so upon the present occasion were I not impelled by a strong sense of public duty. 'Tis but a trite truism to say that the subject is important. The more reflection is given it, the more important it becomes. It is by no means local in its character or effects. Such fact I was glad to see recognized by the Senator from Saline in his brief allusion touching the matter this morning. It is a question in which the people of the entire State are interested, yea, I may say, the people of the entire country. And as it is presented to-day as a fair issue for legislative discussion, I hope the telegraph may flash the intelligence far and near that the law legalizing prostitution in our proud city of the West is swept, from the statute book, and that it is again recognized as a crime meriting condemnation and punishment. I feel confident that if Senators had seen the workings of the system, inaugurated in St. Louis as I have seen, there would not be a dissenting vote on the roll call on the pending bill. I propose to dissect and lay bare this system I shall endeavor to tear away every shred of tinsel sophistry that has been thrown around it, and bring it to the light in all its hideous nakedness and deformity.

PROSTITUTION UNDER STATE LAW.

And now, Mr. Chairman, let us see what the law of our State is in regard to the matter of prostitution. If we look under Art. VIII, Chap. 106 of Wagner's Statutes, we read in Sec. 19: "That every person who shall set up or keep a common gaming house, or a bawdy house, or both, shall, on conviction, be adjudged guilty of a misdemeanor, and punished by a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars."*

* Husband and wife may be jointly indicted for keeping a bawdy house. *State vs. Bentz*, 11 Mo., 27; *Clementine vs. State*, 14 Mo., 112; *State vs. Bean*, 21 Mo., 268.

Again, we find in Sec. 20: "That every person who shall, knowingly, lease or let to another any house or other building, for the purpose of setting up or keeping therein any * * brothel or bawdy house, shall, on conviction, be adjudged guilty of a misdemeanor, and punished by fine not exceeding five hundred dollars."

Again, let me quote or refer to another section in the same chapter of Wagner, as necessarily involved in this discussion. We read in Sec. 8, that "every person who shall live in a state of open and notorious adultery, * * * shall, on conviction, be adjudged guilty of a misdemeanor, and punished by imprisonment in the county jail, not exceeding six months, or by fine, not exceeding three hundred dollars, or by both such fine and imprisonment."

Mark you, this is the law that has governed in the State of Missouri ever since her birth, and is the law to-day for every citizen of her domain except within the territory of the corporate limits of the city of St. Louis. And see the heading of this article: "Offenses against Public Morals and Decency, or the Public Police." What do you call them? Offenses? Yes, offenses, the synonym whereof are crimes. And were our law-givers right in so denominating these specified acts? Are they crimes and offenses founded in permanent society construction, or are they but the temporary enactments to meet transient evil? Why, sir, if I know aught of the history of my race, these acts, as specified in our Statutes, have been denounced as offenses against society, offenses in the sight of God and man, by every civilized nation of the world; from to-day, backward through the mists of time to the delivery of those tablets, sacred in the traditions of man as bearing the impress of the finger of the Almighty. Where in this broad land of ours is it not so promulgated in the law? Every State in the Union recognizes and denounces these as offenses, as crimes, and it is to-day the humiliation of Missouri, that, solitary and alone, she has incorporated in her law, as some say, forsooth, an experiment, in repudiation of all moral and political teachings of the past, a recognition as a lawful "industry" and traffic, that which is universally denounced as a crime against society. But such was the law, as above quoted, in the entire State until the year 1870. You will observe, Mr. Chairman, that the punishment in our State Statute for keeping a brothel is only by fine. Formerly the penalty denounced was also imprisonment. But it occurred in several instances in the city of St. Louis that the rich proprietor-courtesan, growing too audacious in her business, was punished by hard-hearted jurymen with imprisonment as well as fine. This was a terrible wrong to them, as claimed by those whose hearts are always so benevolently moved whenever their self-imposed disa-

bilities reach their sympathizing gaze, and the movement was inaugurated to relieve this class of the harsher part of the existing penalty. It was successful, and the consequences are well known to every person of experience in the administration of penal justice, and could be anticipated by any reflecting person; the rich proprietor whose pocket was plethoric with the price of sin paid her fine, a small penalty to her, when the large tribe of the poorer sort met the inexorable fate of poverty and went to the jail or the work-house.

This change, as noted in the penalty attending the commission of this offense, was a victory in behalf of vice and crime, and was but the forerunner of other attempts upon the part of the friends of prostitutes and prostitution. It was a victory of the bad over the good and accomplished by the pertinacity of venal agents, like unto those who always darken the vestibules and corridors of the Capitol when schemes of corruption and scoundrelism are attempted to be consummated in legislation : birds of darkness—spectres of infamy.

ATTEMPT TO CHANGE THE LAW.

One or two years prior to the passage of this charter, wherein the word "regulate," is for the first time incorporated in our municipal grant, another attempt was made to strike down or modify the existing law against prostitution. The attempt most signally failed. And why? Because it was openly proposed to the then delegation from St. Louis to introduce this system as regulated by city ordinance now in the form of a State enactment; that the Legislature should vote directly upon the establishment of a licensed system of prostitution. Why, who would have the temerity to present and advocate such a proposition? Does any person suppose, for a moment, that coming before the Legislature as an original proposition, it would have had the least show of success? Ask the members from the country to repudiate all the teachings of the past; to throw from them as useless their long cherished ideas of law, of morals, and of religion! The bare glance at such a proposition was sufficient to show how futile would be the open effort. It was abandoned.

And here let me ask the question, does any one suppose for a moment that if this matter were presented before the Missouri Legislature to-day, and the request made that prostitution be licensed, that there would be a solitary vote in favorable response? Yes, perhaps, a solitary vote here and there, cast amid the denunciatory repudiation muttered and growled from all sides.

THE LAW CHANGED.

But there are other means of assault than in front. In 1870, certain gentlemen, associated with the city government, decided to make another attempt to inaugurate the license system. To do this they applied for a new charter for the city, and to have a due grant of power to carry out their intentions, they incorporated therein for the first time in the history of the State, the word "regulate." Now, sir, the word regulate, as every lawyer knows, has a very broad significance. The power to regulate carries with it most every power that can be possessed over a given subject. Its legal significance was well-known to those who asked the charter, but I do not think it was recognized or known to the great majority of the legislators who voted for the charter. They little thought then when voting for this charter that they were voting to make prostitution a respectable business, and to give to the vile, the degraded and the vicious a protection, extending to an immunity from punishment for the commission of crime. Had the object of the workers herein been known the charter never would have passed. It was incubated in deception, born in fraud, and now flourishes in abortive deformity. But the charter so framed was granted, a supple city council soon enacted its part in the demanded work, and the good citizens of St. Louis, before they were fully aware of the fact, found the new system, as it is called, an established verity in their midst.

PENALTIES UNDER FORMER CITY ORDINANCES.

Before going further, Mr. Chairman, let me call your attention to the penalties attached to the commission of the offense of prostitution under the city ordinances existing at the time this system went into effect. I have shown you what the punishment was under the State law; now, for the policial regulations of the city we had further provisions. By looking at the ordinances, I read from the revised ordinances of 1866, we find under the head Misdemeanors, "Of offenses against Public Morals and Decency," that "whoever shall, in this city, keep a bawdy house, house of ill-fame, or of assignation, or shall allow any tenement in his possession or under his control, to be used for any such purpose, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and shall forfeit and pay the sum of not less than fifty dollars." The maximum of this penalty is three hundred dollars.

Again, you will see in the ninth clause of the act concerning vagrants, "that any prostitute, courtesan, bawd or lewd woman, or any female inmate of any bawdy-house, house of prostitution, house-

of assignation, brothel or house of bad repute, who shall be found wandering about the streets in the night-time, or frequenting dram-shops or beer-houses, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and punished by fine also." Then, again, under the tenth clause of the same act, we find that "any procurer, pimp, or other male person, inhabiting a bawdy-house, or house of prostitution or assignation, or in any way connected with the keeping of such house," shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and punished by fine. And still another section makes it a misdemeanor to knowingly associate with bawds, prostitutes and other vicious characters. So you see that heretofore under the state and city laws prostitution and its sequent associations were deemed misdemeanors—crimes against society—the commission of which were worthy of punishment. And this in the light of legislation, not of religion, not of individual morality, but in the light of statesmanship, founded upon the experience of ages—statesmanship struggling to attain a perfection in social structure, to extend the greatest good to the greatest number. And if logical reasoning is to be recognized as the manner and mode of this discussion, I might, right here, say to the supporters of the social evil law, that it is for them now here to show conclusively that this heretofore pronounced offense is no offense, is no crime, and that the reasoning and experience of the great and good law-makers of the world is worthless, is maudlin sentimentality, as some of the ardent votaries of prostitution proclaim, before they can advance a step in rational argumentation in behalf of extending to it the immunity given a respectable traffic or industry. Have the mainsprings of society been touched so suddenly by the overpowering wisdom of these new apostles of social science as to revolutionize society with electrical celerity? Has the basis of a superstructure bearing up the accumulated wisdom of ages been crumbled by one blow from this new school of rash innovators, inspired, moved and misled by the false and capricious philosophy of a Continental and Parisian society? Give us the proof, incontrovertible proof of wrong upon the part of our law-givers, before you audaciously ask the recognition of the rectitude of your intentions or the solidity of your opinions. No, Mr. Chairman, prostitution is an offense against society now, as it has ever been; and like all other offenses strikes against the interests of the good and true, merits no quarter, and should receive no sympathy.

EFFECTS OF PUNISHMENT.

In the administration of the law under the old system, state and city, the disabilities attending the commission of the offense were like

those attending the commission of any other offense. The stigma and disgrace of recognized crime attached to it. Penal laws are made to protect society. How? Punishments are attached to certain acts that the dread of suffering such punishments may make one pause; and the infliction is exhibited as an example to deter others, or, in other words, more forcibly impress the dread of punishment.

Now, so far as offenses involved in the discussion is concerned, the theory of our law worked with the same force and effect as against any other class of offenses. Criminal recognition produced the same fruits, punishment carried with it the same force. Up to the passage of the act creating the court of criminal correction the grand jury of St. Louis county, enforcing the state law, instituted prosecutions against offenders of this class, six times a year. Indictments were found most every term against the keepers of bawdy-houses. To evade the finding of such indictments, it was but natural for the proprietors to exercise the utmost care in preventing any public demonstration of their business. To enforce the law it was customary for the officers on the beats of the various localities to watch for visitors, and it frequently happened that citizens were summoned to testify in regard to these houses who, had they have known that such consequences would flow, would never have visited them. Beside this surveillance, bearing its natural results, the police department of St. Louis had authority to arrest all bawds carrying on their traffic in public places, and to break up all houses of prostitution. This caused frequent raids, so-called; something you hear so frequently mentioned by the advocates of the social-evil law: herein their heart yearns in sympathy again for the poor women dragged from their house in the night-time, etc. A little sympathy might as rationally be extended to the poor men, also necessarily disturbed. Perhaps they get it.

Then again, all men acting as pimps, or habitués of these brothels were subject to arrest as shown, and were generally pursued by policemen with strict vigilance; for after all they are about the worst vermin of the earth, and meet with little consideration or sympathy from any class.

Now, Mr. Chairman, we have before us in full view the workings of the old law. It is not necessary for me to detail with accuracy the effects of these laws: every reflecting man who knows the consequences and its attendants of any penal statutory provision but can discover the effects of these enactments. The keeper of a den of prostitution was a violator of law: the visitors to a den of prostitution were accessories to the crime. Society recognizes this fact. Society recognizes it as a disgrace. But right here I am met by the advocates of the new system with the query: did your laws succeed in suppressing

prostitution? I answer, no. Nor could such a consequence be expected from the institution of any law. No more can it be suppressed than larceny, than corruption, than murder. Crimes exist in all civil society. But good men struggle to prevent; good men struggle to decrease them, and good men oppose under all circumstances their recognition in any other light than as crimes.

THE SOCIAL EVIL LAW.

And now let us examine particularly what this new order of things is as established in the city of St. Louis. Let us examine the law and from our knowledge of the character of men and the effects of laws see the natural consequences which have and must follow its enactment. The germ of the ordinance is contained in section 8, which reads:

SEC. 8 For the future support and maintenance of said hospital and house of industry, for the payment of its debts, the advancement of its interests and the humane and reformatory objects contemplated by its establishment, each owner or keeper of a bawdy house, room or rooms, or assignation house, room or rooms, shall pay the sum of ten dollars per month as hospital dues, which sum shall be paid to the medical examiners on the first week of each month, and one dollar each week examination fee; and each prostitute, courtesan or lewd woman shall pay the sum of one dollar and fifty cents each week as hospital dues; which moneys, thus coming into the hands of the board of health by virtue of this ordinance shall be paid into the city treasury at least once in each week, and the clerk of the board of health shall take triplicate receipts therefor, one of which shall be deposited with the comptroller and one with the auditor and the other to be retained by the board of health, and the amount thereof shall be placed to the credit of said hospital and house of industry; and it shall be the duty of the city auditor, on the requisition of the board of health, to draw his warrant on the city treasurer from time to time for such amount of money as may be necessary for the support of said hospital, which warrants shall be drawn against and paid out of the money collected under authority of this ordinance, and said money shall not be used for any other purpose than for the support and maintenance of said hospital and house of industry and for the payment of medical examiners.

Now, this is simply a law to license prostitution in the city of St. Louis, the proceeds of such license to go to the establishment of a hospital for diseased prostitutes, and to pay medical examiners hired to keep prostitutes in good condition for the purpose of plying their business, to wit: the business of prostitution. Now, I propose to show the effect of the law in the light of social science upon the communal interests, of the city of St. Louis. In furtherance thereof, permit me to say, that according to my observation and experience, what are termed fallen women may be divided into three distinct classes. I do not claim my classification as an arbitrary one, but at the same time I

find it not in opposition to the general classification as recognized by some of the best of medical authorities.

PROSTITUTES OF THE FIRST CLASS—THE GILDED PALACE.

Now how does the law affect the first class, and who compose this class? They are the proprietors and inmates of the wealthy, or so called fashionable houses. In the city of St. Louis, Mr. Chairman, a walk of but a few squares from one of our finest hotels, the Southern, will bring you to a thoroughfare where may be seen in bold relief some of the most noted mansions of the *demi monde*. It will need but a casual glance of one versed in the ways of city life to recognize the character of the houses. Names frequently seen in the daily prints in connection with the business of the bawd are stamped in artistic design upon massive gilded door plates. Exteriors habilitated in the glowing colors of fresh and soft-hued paint, stand in accord with glimpses of the luxury within, shown through massive windows and frequently from open doors, of rich furniture, rare carpets, gilded walls and zephyr like curtains. Aside from this it may be perhaps the transient gazers opportunity to see the beauteous form of women robed in silks or satin and decked with that profusion of jewelry so indicative of her whose taste has become vitiated by the courtesan's trade, moving with the enervated languor of her class. In front, in all likelihood may be seen gay caparisoned horses attached to a vehicle rare in its make and novel in its colors. Dividing the attention of the looker on will be an odd-looking dog and a no less odd-looking man. The dog more attractive in spots is rivalled, perhaps, in importance by the huge brass buttons and prominent cockade which adorns the man—the driver of the vehicle. The sight very naturally will carry the reflecting mind back to the palmy days of Louis XV, or the prosperous days of Nell Gwinn. To this may come associated an idea as to whether it was ever dreamed by our fathers that the republic would produce such a parasitical growth, so similar in character to a like European growth, and receiving legislative sanction and official support. Within you will find women who are young, who have been beautiful, and who are still beautiful.

Now, sir, this is a licensed house of prostitution. This is an establishment, where men can gratify their lustful propensities to their hearts' content for the payment of money.

It is not necessary for me to discant upon the natural propensities of man, his weaknesses are known and recognized. Especially is this the case, as it should be, in the mind of the law-maker. He makes laws, professedly, for imperfect men and women. He makes those laws

as safe guards to benefit imperfect men and women, individually, socially, and in civil organization. And here let me ask, if human nature is the same to-day as it always has been, who will dare to contend that the establishment I have pictured, is not a standing temptation to the lustful and vicious propensities of men. And must I say young men, single men? No, sir. The temptation is in force and effect the same with men of all ages, single and married. Now, what does your law do for this establishment? First, it insures the proprietress and her inmates that they are committing no violation of law; that they need have no fears of prosecution; that they need have no fears of any interference; that they have police protection in the pursuit of their calling; that they have provided medical assistance to insure them immunity from disease in the pursuit of their business; that they have free advertising of healthfulness to all comers; and, going one step farther, that they have careful nurses for their use and benefit when they are so unfortunate as to meet with sickness in the prosecution of their trade.

Is this picture overdrawn? No, sir. No one assertion I have made can be contradicted. You have abolished at one fell-blow the criminality of prostitution. You have repudiated the doctrine of morality, the mandates of God, and the legislation of ages. You have declared it to be not a foul thing worthy of condemnation, worthy of attempted annihilation, worthy of being driven into darkness and obscurity; in fact, you have in lieu thereof raised it from degradation, clothed it with the glamour of respectability and enshrined it in legal enactment but, thank God, in legal enactment only, into a new industry. Why, sir, the trade of prostitution to-day receives more guarantees of protection than any respectable business. Your toiling woman of the needle, wearing her life away for a sustenance and support, receives no such consideration as you grant to these gilded panders to vice. Sickness may strike her down by the misfortune of her labor, and where is your hospital protection to nurse her back into healthful vitality? The distinction between good and bad, as pertains to her, reverses the received law of right and justice. She, diseased in good, merits no consideration. She, diseased in bad, receives the kindest consideration. Shame upon such benevolence. Shame upon such sickly sympathy.

But, how does it affect the man? I have said before that the establishments, a picture of the one of which I have drawn, presents a standing temptation. Now, let me ask, is that temptation stronger now under the provisions of the new and existing law than under the old law? I say yes, and defy contradiction. And if the temptation be stronger, then no one will gainsay but that prostitution has ne-

cessarily increased. If it has increased, surely no good man will sustain this law. And right here, let me remark, that even disease had better increase among men than prostitution, so far as the baneful effects are concerned upon community.

LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION.

But when this assertion is made about the increase of prostitution, you hear men say: prove it; show us the statistics. I reply, it is not a question for statistics to determine. I reply, you can not obtain statistics upon such a question. I reply, that it is susceptible of proof upon the simplest known rules of logic—a logic that is irrefutable, that the history of man shows to be inexorable. We know human nature. We know its laws. Knowing its laws, we draw deductions from that knowledge. When the Divine Teacher incorporated, in the immortal prayer, the supplication to Deity to “lead us not into temptation,” it was the promptings of a divinely humane heart and a philosophical mind. Have you listened to this prayer, you originators of this system? Are you listening to it to-day, you supporters of this system? I take it not. You remember I said that under the old law, houses of prostitution, or the keepers thereof, were generally indicted, or were liable to be, once every two months. You remember that I told you that the police authorities possessed the power to raid them at any moment, day or night. You remember that I told you that citizens who visited these places frequently met the scrutiny of vigilant policemen, to be subpoenaed as witnesses in the prosecution of these houses. These circumstances attending the administration of the old law, as any sensible man may know, deterred very many men from going to these places. It was a restraint upon the man of passion, because it called into play many of the nobler faculties of his nature; such faculties as keep men from acts bringing shame and disgrace. Especially was this the case among married men. For, however prone to vice a large class of these men may be, the respect and love of wife and children is a strong incentive to the control and mastery of inclination. And, perhaps, with this class, the strongest restraint in the indulgence of passion is the constantly shadowing fear of disease. Therefore, when you take away all these restraints, what may you expect except an increasing indulgence of the evil propensities of our nature.

And, Mr. Chairman, we all remember our early teachings against like vicious associations, and the condemnatory opinion of society then stood as a barrier to this road to vice, and we know that such barrier is still necessary to the youth of this country. Surely this law presents temptation to young men. They can visit these estab-

lishments now with impunity. No prying eyes will reach them. No raiding arrests will bring them into shame. No inquisitorial grand jury will drag them to disgraceful exposure. Their association is protected—is solicited—is encouraged. And how easy it is to tell of the effects—effects not of good, but of bad.

THE LOVE OF THE SCARLET WOMAN.

Mr. Chairman, know you about the love of the Scarlet Woman? There is nothing more ennobling, there is nothing more soul-inspiring, than the love of a pure and good woman. There is nothing more debasing, there is nothing more degrading, there is nothing that so weights the soul with enervating infamy as the love of a base woman. 'Tis the song of the siren, the notes of whose false music lures to expected realms of pleasure, which prove to be regions of destruction.

In my experience as public prosecutor I have seen the sad effects of that whereof I speak. Beneath its withering influence I have seen honor discarded, the love of all that is good and true abandoned, and the influence of the endearing affections of home withered and blighted. The names of victims you may find on the dockets of your criminal courts, and the registers of your penitentiaries. I have noted, of late years, an increase in the crime of embezzlement among young men in the city of St. Louis. I account for it upon the grounds of the immunity and protection which prostitution has thrown around it under the existing law. Young men who visit these fashionable establishments to gratify their inclination indulge in the greatest extravagances. The accumulation of honest labor will not support them in it. The fascination of the bagnio enthrals them. They are lulled into security in thought and weakness in will, and thereupon into the abandonment of integrity. If the statistics, showing the extravagant expenditure of wealth, both by married men and young men, in the fashionable bagnios of St. Louis could be exhibited to the public they would look with horror at the rottenness of a social condition that has grown and is now expanding through the encouragement and assistance of the social evil law.

No wonder the supplications of good women reach us. No wonder the pure young girl signs petitions for redress. No wonder the true wife asks relief. No wonder the doting mother pleads our intervention. They do it as in prayer for the removal of temptation from the paths of loved ones: the pure young girl for her lover; the true wife for her husband, and the doting mother for her darling boy. And, Mr. Chairman, may God grant that in all the fervor and earnestness of my nature may I be able to give a faint expression of this deep and earnest appeal that comes to us from the good women of my be-

loved city and my beloved State. I might stop right here, Mr. Chairman, in my efforts to show the pernicious effects of the inauguration of this system. I think they are now patent to all, so far as regards the class of fallen women that I have referred to; but it will not be inappropriate for me to remind you that a continuance and expansion of these enumerated evils will bloom into greater and more enlarged ones.

The protection guaranteed to these women increases their self-assurance, and the immunity given to an association with them raises their calling into a species of respectability. The distinction in the minds of men between good and bad women will be gradually weakened. The constant sight of them in public places will wear from them their stamp of shame and degradation. A lowering in opinion of the female character will ensue, and we might expect, eventually, such a demoralization of sentiment which has its parallel in the dissolute cities of Europe, or had it in the declining days of the Roman capital.

TEMPTATION TO YOUNG GIRLS.

And another thing: the effects are bad immediately upon a certain class of young girls. More especially young girls who are dowered with beauty but not with riches. In the prevalence of a false taste now existing, the desire for dress is highly stimulated among women. The rich attire and the apparent life of ease and luxury led by the courtesan of the first class, is productive of an erroneous and false impression upon such young girls as I have referred to. The residence of the courtesan is now a mansion of security. It is protected by law. She is no longer under the ban of society. No longer the policeman drags her as a violator of the law through the streets. The rules of the hospital for the indiscriminate sick no longer applies to her. These things formerly constantly in the mind of the young girl, beset by temptation, are removed. Supports of the highest crown of woman—her virtue—are thrown down. The path from virtue to vice is shortened, is smoothed and well regulated. So far as reformation is concerned among women of the first class, as long as they remain in this class, and are not pushed by dissipation and loss of beauty and youth, into the second class, it rarely occurs. This is what might be called the realm of thoughtless pleasure. Therein the excitement attending the life by them led gives little time for reflection or remorse. The demand rarely decreases and the supply is always sufficient for the demand. So far as the humane attempts of the framers of this ordinance have gone, the women belonging to this class have quite an advantage over their sisters of the second class. Wealth here as elsewhere has its advantages. It rests alto-

gether with the medical examiner whether she shall be treated at the mansion or at the hospital, and it is not too great an assumption on my part to suppose, I take it, that medical examiners will favor good looking prostitutes with wealth and so called position more than they will those not good looking—not having wealth, and not having position. Upon this point I have no statistics, but my knowledge of human nature inclines me to think that nevertheless such is the fact.

EFFECTS ON SOCIETY.

Looking at this question in the light of political economy a broad field is presented for consideration, but I have not time to give an examination to this branch. No person can consistently say that any law which in its effect is liable to decrease the number of marriages is not alien to the best interest of mankind. That this law has such an effect is a reasonable conclusion to the argument I have already presented. The young man's association with a pure woman meets a consummation of happiness in the married state, in the propagation of children. It is attended with responsibilities, borne usually with content by the man not vitiated or depraved by vicious female associations. But after such debasement of taste, the marriage state with its responsibilities, appears irksome, and what is the main object of life in good men is considered of little importance and not worthy of consideration. This is in opposition to the law of God. This is in opposition to the law of every enlightened nation.

[For the purpose of showing the evil effects upon society that the recognition of public women as other than the violators of law, Mr. Johnson had read at the clerk's desk a description of a masked ball attended by members of the first class *demi monde* at the Theatre Comique, a place of amusement in the city of St. Louis on the night of February 18, 1874. A description of the toilets of many of them were given and among others, two of them as being dressed as the representatives of Martha and George Washington, the father of his country and wife. Also a number of other representative characters were given. There were also quite number of men of respectability and position present there as lookers on, and in some cases commingling with them.]

Mr. JOHNSON continued: Now, sir, I do not suppose that any of the gentlemen named in that article had the least idea of doing wrong, or of encouraging wrong. Their presence may have been, and doubtless was, consequent upon an idle curiosity. But I do say that it is a step in the direction of a reckless abandonment of that healthy public opinion naturally consequent by the position in society given to this class of females by the adoption of this social evil law. Under a rigorous administration of the old law such an assemblage could never have convened in the city of St. Louis. But the old law is dead and a new era is inaugurated.

PROSTITUTES OF THE SECOND CLASS—THE SALOON BAGNIOS AND THEIR MALE PROPRIETORS.

I have now shown the effects, Mr. Chairman, and I claim them to be evil effects of the adoption of this law so far as the first class of public or fallen women are concerned. Let us now pass to the second and by far the largest class of public women regulated by this law.

The second class comprises, 1st, The real and ostensible proprietors and inmates of houses where there is less fashion in dress, generally more shameliness in vulgarity and less exorbitancy in the price of lustful gratification. 2d, The keepers of assignation houses, keepers of rooms, clandestines, and kept women and mistresses. A large number of houses designated in the first clause descriptive of the second class are houses to which saloons are attached. This classification of the second class takes in a wide range. I might divide it into four classes, but so far as the purposes of my argument is concerned I include within this class all except those of the third class—the degraded wretches from whom all semblance of woman are virtually driven.

Now, Mr. Chairman, just take a look at these brothels to which saloons are attached. They flourish on Almond, Poplar, Spruce, Christy avenue and numerous other localities in the city of St. Louis. They are cess-pools of iniquity. They are the festering sores of our social organization. They are the dens in which crime is hatched. They are the retreats of criminals, and under the existing law they are the shields of the perpetrators of every species of violation of law. I know them well, sir. It has been my province to investigate many of the transactions perpetrated in these places. They have been published to the world. The community is aware of their character. The names of a few flit through my mind even as I now address you. There is Cooper's, Duffy's, Rothchild's, Hines', Anderson's, Weitcamp's and a host of others. I mention these in hurried recollection. They are associated with the criminal annals of St. Louis. They are managed mostly by women. They are owned mostly by men. And right here, sir, I desire to call your attention to the most startling evil of this law. Under the old law, men were punished for keeping houses of prostitution. Men were punished for being habitués of the same. Men were punished for constantly associating with the inmates. This is all past and gone. You have licensed the system, and men can enter the list in business competition; and I blush for human nature when I say that to-day, in the city of St. Louis, about as large a number of men are living off of the proceeds of prostitution as there are women. The control exercised by men over women is as marked here as anywhere else; and the gilded dame with brazen face, painted

cheeks and vulgarly gaudy dress, but dupes her victim and obtains his money to pass it into the hands of her baser paramour. And knowing as we do the cupidity of men, bad men, am I saying too much when I announce the belief that it will not be five years, living under this law, until the greater portion of the business of prostitution will be conducted and carried on by men instead of women. No, sir; and if the demoralization of sentiment is not arrested, you and I, Mr. Chairman, may live to see the day when application will be made to our state officials for articles of incorporation, to enable a company to carry on an extended system of prostitution in all its departments—such as first-class houses, second-class saloon houses, assignation houses and rooms in every convenient locality to meet the growing demands of the future great city of the West.

Why sir, who are the men whom I have named above as the keepers of licensed houses. Not one of them but what has a record in the criminal annals of St. Louis. There is Cooper, he went to the Penitentiary for robbery. He keeps a licensed house. There is Duffy, he keeps two; and the murderers of Ostameyer—two men convicted to the gallows—went to the commission of their deed from his den. There's Hines, he's dead—so let him rest. His establishment still flourishes as a den of licensed prostitution. His indictments were innumerable. And Anderson—but it is useless to go further. There is a long list of others with a similar history. It is the sickening record of years. God knows it was bad enough under the old regime, when no police protection was given, and prostitution was deemed a crime; associates of prostitutes as violators of law; and these houses worthy of being raided, and the inmates, forsooth, dragged to the calaboose. How are these houses conducted, Mr. Chairman, and why should they be allowed to exist at all? They deal liquor as an enticement to the unwary traveler—such liquor as fires the blood with a poisonous fever, and then have the prostitute ready to accomplish as much of ruin as a visit will permit. It may be that he only has the indulgence of vice. 'Tis more likely that he feels the effect of crime, is the victim of larceny, of robbery, and perhaps of murder. Herein congregate also, Mr. Chairman, in these establishments, the thief, the pickpocket, the confidence man, the burglar and the assassin. They all naturally vibrate to these houses of prostitution. They all naturally take to this class of prostitutes. If prostitution be not a crime, then its association here is novel and strange. It will take many years among this class to disengage it from its accepted classification among them. Herein we find plans concocted for great crimes against society. Herein congregate those who war against every good interest in man.

Now does your law, as at present established, benefit this class of men? Most assuredly it does. When you extend protection to their associates, the female partners of their guilt, you extend protection to them. When you destroy the penalty for associating together in such houses and with such women, you benefit this class of men, you assist them in their business. Another thing, Mr. Chairman, you give an opportunity for a secrecy in the commission of crime that did not exist before. Perhaps we have not yet felt the full effect of some of these consequences, but they are sure to ensue.

And what good, think you, is your social-evil law as a sanitary measure among this class? 'Tis simply disgusting to think of the efforts of a medical examiner among them.

THE SALOON PROSTITUTE.

The saloon prostitute presents without doubt the worst phase of prostitution. They are most generally women pushed by dissipation from the first class. Vulgar-bred women who have taken to the traffic naturally, and women who have been debased by marrying and associating with the meanest characters of men. They are lost to all sense of shame. Decency is a word not recognized in their vocabulary. They are deceitful; they are base; they are heartless. The moral effect of their contamination is worse and more loathsome than any physical disease known to human misery. To this picture there are some few exceptions. But as a general rule they are creatures which no penalty effects; no considerations move; their reformation is the grave! And yet there are a class of young men in the city of respectable parentage that are constantly being ensnared into these places. They are worthy young mechanics and artisans who are tempted for the very same reasons that men are tempted to visit places described in the first class. The immunity that the law gives to these establishments, works in the same manner with this class of young men. The legalization of their crime destroys in their mind the guiltiness of their lascivious exhibitions, and prostitution itself, with them, is rendered ten times more destructive by the temptation given to indulge in the vilest decoctions of the gin-shops.

So it will be easily perceived that the stranger or the traveler from the country is not the only sufferer from the enticing wiles of these newly licensed representators of the city's hospitality. To this class of women we may attribute the reason of the frequent expression of benevolence, for they compose a class who in the past time were so frequently dragged from their bacchanalian riots and midnight orgies through the streets to the calabose. The sympathy extended to them

by such humane individuals I earnestly commend, but at the same time would suggest, that a broader sympathy would include objects of more worth and interests of far greater magnitude. And I here close my delineation of the marked evils of the new law as shown in its operation among this class. It is a subject for sad reflection to every one interested in the welfare of society. If any one can show me good to come from protecting and encouraging this class of men and women, I would gladly hear of it for the benefit of many of those who so strenuously and earnestly support the social evil ordinance. My knowledge, based on experience and observation, makes me to think that their efforts will prove futile.

RETIRED HOUSES OF THE SECOND CLASS—DETAILS OF REGISTRATION.

I said, Mr. Chairman, that a great number of houses of the second class had saloons attached, and I have just given a description of them. But there are some houses kept in retired quarters, where a different class of girls are congregated. I did not place them in the first class, because they are not fashionable resorts, nor are their inmates so fashionable in dress, nor so extravagant in expenditure. They are houses mostly sought by poor young girls after their loss of virtue. There is a quasi respectability given them, because of their retiracy and the absence of the flaunting devices which accompany the members of the first class, and the coarse vulgarity of the above noted second class. These houses are dangerous institutions to the poor girls of the city. Aside from the business carried on by the inmates, they are frequently used for the purposes of assignation. The proprietresses of these houses have the usual amount of heartless cupidity, which so eminently characterizes the ruler of fallen girls. And, before proceeding further, let us see the law in regard to this question of registration. It reads:

"The Board of Police Commissioners are hereby required to make as full and complete a record of all bawdy houses, houses of ill fame and of assignation, and of all bawds, courtesans and prostitutes within the city of St. Louis as possible; and to furnish such record to the Board of Health, and, from time to time, to furnish such additional and supplemental records as shall show fully the facts herein required. This record shall show the name of all persons keeping the same, the ownership of the houses, the locality, the names of aliases, ages and former occupations of the persons and prostitutes living therein, together with such other particulars as may be of statistical or sanitary interest. Such record shall be kept in the office of the clerk of the Board of Health, but shall be open to inspection only to members of said Board and the Board of Police Commissioners and the members of the City Council."

Which means, Mr. Chairman, it is open to the inspection of everybody. You will also perceive that this provision requires registration by every woman of every degree and class of prostitution, and it is

also provided in this law that no prostitute of any class or condition shall rent any dwelling-house or houses, room or rooms to be used for prostitution without obtaining permission from the Board of Police Commissioners. Again: Another point touching registration is, no prostitute can leave her place of abode and move to another place or house of ill fame until she has obtained a permit from the Chief of Police, and her dues must be paid up to date. Again, no owner or keeper, or person in charge of any assignation house or house of ill fame, shall permit any courtesan in their house over twenty-four hours without being duly registered, without reporting such prostitute or inmate to the Chief of Police.

Another section provides that the owner, keeper or person in charge, or inmate of any house of ill-fame, assignation house, bawdy house, room or rooms used for the purpose of prostitution, are required to give full and complete information to the Board of Police Commissioners and its proper agents respecting all matters required in the section first quoted. And lastly, the name of any registered bawd, courtesan or lewd woman can not be erased from the records, except by order of the Board of Health and Board of Police Commissioners.

These are the provisions of the ordinance relating to the registration of women. It is necessary to note their various provisions before continuing the line of my argument.

You will remember I was saying that the class of houses I was last describing were dangerous institutions to the poor girls of St. Louis. And why more dangerous than others? Simply because it is frequently the case that they are inveigled into them in perfect ignorance of their true character. Twenty-four hours here is the maximum time for destruction. Twenty-four hours and the name must be registered or the proprietors punished. We know full well the means that the minions of vice have ever used for the purpose of woman's ruin. Can it be claimed that the existing regulations throw a protecting care over her interests and welfare? Go to your female procuress and ask her, and if truthful, she will tell you that it is easier now to blight the life of a young girl than ever before. Tell the policeman of her twenty-four hours abode, and his vigilant care hustles her to the registry or the calaboose. Yes, and he acts upon the testimony of witnesses too, any number required.

HOW PROSTITUTES ARE MADE.

Innumerable are the ways in which young girls are inveigled into these houses. A personal reminiscence presents itself. Before the close of my attorneyship for the state, I was trying a case in which

I had as a witness a very comely young women of the most respectable appearance. After the conclusion of my examination the lawyer for the defense almost immediately on commencing the cross-examination, asked her if she had not been registered as a prostitute. She replied that she had. He pursued this line of inquiry no further, passed to other matters and concluded. She had seen my surprise at her statement, and asked leave to say something in explanation. Her statement was that she was the only support of her mother and certain little brothers; that she was seeking employment, and saw an advertisement of a sewing girl wanted in a morning paper; that she sought the place, was met by an oily-tongued, matronly-looking woman, was engaged and went to work. The girls in the house she was told were the daughters of the woman referred to. After a residence of several days, she was informed by her employer that it was necessary to report at the police office all girls hiring to labor of any kind. She believed the story and accompanied her informant to the office. The women talked to the officer, he mechanically wrote in a book, and they left. She was registered as a prostitute. That night she told her mother what she had done. Her mother knew full well the significance of the act. Her daughter never returned to the place of her employment. She was by the merest accident saved from ruin. The mother corroborated her statement, and her testimony was unimpeached.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have heard time and again the expression of a kind of sentimentality in the form of sympathy for fallen women, among the advocates of the existing law. I have alluded to it before incidentally. They are constantly talking of the opportunities to reformation offered up by policial surveillance and regulation. Sir, they know not what they are talking about. The very class of women, the surroundings of whom I am now and propose to further delineate, are the only class from which comes the reformed and purified women; and startling as the assertion may be to some, yet it is as true as truths of Holy writ, this law of pretended benevolent functions is not only a barrier to their reformation, but tends to drive them deeper into the sloughs of vice, profligacy and misery? Add to the women I have just been talking about, as occupying the retired houses, the keepers of rooms, clandestines, kept women or mistresses, and you have the class containing the largest number of prostitutes. This class is fed from innumerable channels. You find the single woman who has been seduced, yet hesitates to enter the house of public prostitution. You find the married woman whose husband has forsaken her, without children, and you find the same kind of women with children. The latter most likely are struggling

for precarious existence, and at the same time are struggling to retain an appearance of virtue among their friends and relations.

It would be hard to detail the various causes creating the vicissitudes through which these women pass. They are as multiform as the ever-changing varieties of incidents that go to make up the chapter of human life, and at the same time, I believe, I am warranted in saying, that the harsh rigor of ill-starred fortune is the impelling cause in the great majority of cases. They are too frequently children of poverty and youth's misfortune. Among them you find the Magdalens. Their locality is confined to no quarter; you find them scattered in every direction in the busy hive of human life. Their financial means are as variable as the vicissitudes of their life. At one period content in the possession of one or more kind and providing friend, at another time they are found striving to appease an exacting landlord and keep from the clutches of the no less exacting officials of the law.

I would not say that all women composing the class are worthy of any special sympathy, but the great majority of them are. And that sympathy should be in behalf of and tend to their virtuous reformation.

WHAT ENFORCED REGISTRATION DOES.

Now how does this law affect them? It has this effect: that the great majority of them use every means possible to evade registration and medical examination. To them registration means the severance of the last tie which binds them to respectable society. It means here in our country, what Dr. Chapman says it means in Europe:

"For all these women, registration at the Bureau Des Moeurs, means open social degradation. It sets upon them the mark of infamy. It compels them to commit themselves to a life of prostitution as a condition of continuing to exist, whereas before they were but hovering on the brink of it, and still had it in their power to turn back; it means loss of valued acquaintances and of long cherished friends, and worst of all it means also, but to be cast off by relations, to be disowned and repudiated by father and mother, and thus virtually to be forbidden ever again to visit the beloved home of childhood and youth. An unregistered woman who has fallen, or who has been tempted by many of the reasons which impel women to prostitution to prostitute herself temporarily, has it in her power to recover herself, to resume her ordinary position in the society in which she moves, if meanwhile she discreetly keeps her own counsel, as she is likely to do; but the difficulty of recovery after registration is increased a thousand fold."

And do not forget, Mr. Chairman, that this registration, as required by law, is a forced one made upon information obtained by

the agents of the police department. Think, sir, of the unwarrantable power over the fate of a woman, delegated to these merest supernumeraries of the law. The members of the police department of St. Louis are usually vigilant and active in the discharge of their various duties. In the duties incumbent under this law, there is no exception to the general rule. With the inexorable pertinacity of Javert, in his circuitous pursuit of Jean Valjean, they track the path of the suspected victim. Being constantly witnesses against the vicious and unfortunate, unable to analyze logically the actions of persons, they are prone to be suspicious of acts of the most innocent significance. They become peculiarly susceptible under the workings of this law, to unfavorable impressions, frequently the most groundless, regarding the movements of friendless or unfortunate females. They are their spies, their pursuers, their arresters, their prosecutors, and their judges.

Is it any wonder, Mr. Chairman, that so frequently in the annals of your daily press you hear of her who rushes from life out into the darkness of death? Is it any wonder that the poisonous potion so often gives the only relief to the heart oppressed with lingering remorse and from a fate of inexorable oppression and misery? No, sir. And your noble structure, that monument of man's power and genius, which will soon span the great river of the West, will afford many another subject of application for that melancholy requiem sung by a poet who has touched the human heart throughout the civilized world.

The disgrace of registration is very markedly shown in the practice of our courts—more especially our criminal courts in the city of St. Louis. In every case when strange women are witnesses, the most casual remark from excited or interested parties is likely to send lawyers searching for names on the register. To ask the question of a woman, "are you registered?" is a constantly recurring fact. To have been registered, it matters not how long, through what means or for what reasons, is considered worthy of presentation to impeach the testimony of the witnesses.

MEDICAL EXAMINATION.

Again, Mr. Chairman, this thing of registration means something else. It means medical examination and the payment of dues. And what is this medical examination? It is the foulest disgrace that can be perpetrated against the character of women. I speak now of the entire sex. It is a disgrace, an infamous disgrace to every mother, wife and daughter of the land. Bring in your slaves for the mart! What mart? The mart of lust, sensuality, of libertine indulgence. Who are they? Women! Are they sound? Are they healthy? Are

they ready for the stall? Wait, we will see! Turn them over to the medical examiner! Let him institute his physical explorations! 'Tis done! Here's your veritable certificate, stamped with official authority. So ends the story.

If there be one spark of the woman left—if there yet be a lingering remorse in the mind—if there be any longing and a reaching back, as we may say, for the paths of virtue—if there be a solitary hope of eventual deliverance—if there be but a dream in the quiet hours of reflection, of a resurrection beyond the grave—if there be a sweet recollection of home and its associations and endearments, you need, Mr. Chairman, but this brutal process of physical exploration, medical examination, slavish inspection, to stamp it to destruction and drive it to the uttermost regions of oblivion. And this is claimed to be the humane feature of the law! It reduces prostitution, as shown by the registered statistics! Is it not very easy to recognize herein, causes for a reduction of registration? Why, even in Europe, where these reasons are not so fully appreciated as in America, we find that compulsory registry among this, the largest class we are now considering, is, and always has been a failure. The police of Paris could only succeed by the most searching surveillance in enrolling three thousand eight hundred and fifty-three out of about thirty thousand; the police of Berlin, only one thousand six hundred and fifty out of twenty-six thousand nine hundred and fifty-six, of those suspected. And, Mr. Chairman, knowing as I do the prevailing sentiment among all classes of our people in favor of individual liberty, the surprise is that in our great metropolitan city they succeed one-half as well as they do.

THE TRUE ELEVATION OF WOMAN.

And right here, Mr. Chairman, let me say that I can not pass from the consideration of this point touching the effect of the registration of women, without expressing some reflections in regard to her general elevation. And I do so with the hope of not being considered presumptuous. There is to-day a general recognition throughout the country of the necessity of infusing the better characteristics of women into our every day active life. Think you, sir, this law is a step in such desired direction? Talk about elevating her, when at the same time you institute one of the most besetting vices of the world as a legal business for her occupation! Talk about raising her up when you establish in our Christian country a slavery of her body and soul as degrading as that existing in the lands of the Orient! And this done in the spirit of benevolence, forsooth. What a complication of logical sequences! What a distraction of moral ideas! Here

is a labyrinthine web of the mind, woven in inextricable confusion, with threads of every known mental character. It is a new insanity, Mr. Chairman, a development of our later civilization.

Instead of the exercise of such a false benevolence in behalf of women, let us endeavor to institute laws that will really benefit her. Let us strike down the vanity that flourishes in the land, fed and nurtured by the spirit of a selfish avarice. Let us exalt the noblest crown of woman—virtue—to a deification, little less than sacrilegious. Let us promulgate with increasing earnestness the edict that virtue has its reward, that vice has its punishment. Spread it abroad—declare it through the press—pronounce it from the rostrum—tell it from the pulpit—teach it in the schools—decide it in the courts—enact it in the Legislature—that the grandest and noblest duty of women is to give good, true, brave, sturdy and honest sons and daughters to the State. Therein she exalts the nation; therein she exalts herself; therein she is the representative of God.

[Mr. Johnson, in closing his remarks upon the evil effects of registry, recited three cases which had come under his personal observation, two of which had been saved from disgrace and shame by the merest accident, and the other had been driven back to disgrace after having abandoned her life of shame, because of the publication of the fact of her former registration, and continued:]

POVERTY AND REGISTRATION.

You will observe, Mr. Chairman, in the law as I have read it to you, these women, keepers of rooms, if there only be one of them, have to pay the license of fourteen dollars per month. Among the class I have been speaking of, a very large number of them, especially during the rigors of winter, find it no easy task to pay their license. This was a fact so patent during the cold weather of the holiday season that the police justice, the case still pending before the Supreme Court testing the validity of the ordinance, took it upon himself to discharge quite a number of women who were arrested and brought before him for failing to pay their dues. If you will consider the expenses of living and of dress and of rent, you will see that fourteen dollars added thereto makes quite a sum. A large number therefore find it a constant struggle to keep from arrest. Nor can they very well abandon their business. Their word is usually of little avail with the supervising policeman. Their life is fitly illustrated by the walker upon the tread-mill. It needs no elaboration of this point to show the delegation of an unwarranted authority of power to the officers of the law. The victim here has her choice, continued prostitution or the work-house.

WRECKS OF WOMANHOOD.

There was one other class, Mr. Chairman, in my division of fallen women. That is the third class. They are creatures who have lost most all semblance of woman. They are pictures of the lowest degradation. Their lineaments if once seen are scarcely ever forgotten. They come to us in recollection, and flit among the horrid conjurations of fever-dreams. Their abodes are the squalid hovel, the dark prison cell and the work-house. They linger upon the confines of life—fitting types and representatives of the eventualities of prostitution. They shuffle and crawl in the light of day for a time, then disappear—hustled into a pauper's grave. So far as they are concerned, Mr. Chairman, it matters little whether this or any other law exists.

There are some other than beneficial results flowing from existing law in connection with assignation houses, but I will not detain you upon that point. I think that, reasoning from premises already announced, I could prove very readily that this species of prostitution had increased. And again in my opening remarks I directed your attention to the provisions of the state law regarding adultery as an offense, as a crime. Do not forget that the new system destroys this as an offense in the corporate limits of St. Louis.

SUMMING UP.

I have now detailed in extenso, Mr. Chairman, the evil effects flowing from the inauguration of the licensing system. I have shown you that it strikes down at one fell swoop all our preconceived ideas of prostitution being a crime; that in its operations in regard to the first class, it is to the benefit of those who are in the business; that it is an increased temptation to man; that this temptation increases indulgence; that this indulgence has a demoralizing effect upon public sentiment, and strikes at the roots of our social and political organization.

In the second class, I have shown that it not only gives a license to this vice in its worst phase, but that it nurtures, encourages and protects crime of the worst kind and men of the most abandoned, profligate and heartless character. Again, I have shown you that to those who are at all worthy of assistance, sympathy and protection it brings oppression, disgrace and disaster.

Then, let me ask, what in Heaven's name is the good of this law—wherein is the virtue in its enactment? I might pause for a reply, but the pause would be eternal.

True the advocates of this law pretend to be able to present some arguments in favor of its support, but they all concede, so far as I know, that it can not be sustained on moral grounds. Well, sir, let me ask upon what other grounds do we base all our laws. Is expediency, forsooth, to be exalted at the cost of moral principle? Are we to leave the landmarks of our fathers, consecrated by the wisdom of ages, to gratify the experimental whims of irrational innovators? Innovators who learn their lessons from Europe—continental Europe—whose institutions are decidedly dissimilar from ours. You hear men say this system suits in Berlin, in Brussels and in Paris. The arguments in its support are drawn from these localities. Well, sir, permit me to say that the arguments drawn from such sources are not at all applicable in the administration of law in our republic. These are monarchical governments—their forms of law are monarchical—the sentiments of their people are monarchical—their administrative vigor central, monarchical. They may be able to throw away moral safeguards—they may be able to doctor the body at the expense of the soul. We can not do it, sir. The safety and security of the republic rests in the honesty and the virtue of the citizen. Recognize this throughout the length and breadth of this land—proclaim it, sustain it, cherish and foster it, or you dash the interests of our teeming millions upon the breakers of destruction. Crime of every kind must be recognized as crime; no sophistry must gloss it, no excuse must palliate it. It must bear with it its social, its moral, its political condemnation. Men, good men, throughout the land know this, believe it, and are determined that it shall be so. Their sympathy is the broad sympathy that goes out to the struggling, laboring, teeming millions. It is the sympathy that exalts the good and debases the evil. The agitated tide sweeping from the demoralization of war, rushing over the country, is gradually subsiding. Corruption in its myriad streams is being dried up. The public fountains are being purified. The struggle is earnest—is determined—is relentless. The right will prevail. Give us good men in legislation to denounce penalties against crime of every kind. Give us good citizens to enforce laws (and I believe we have got them, Mr. Chairman,) and we can feel assured that we can vouchsafe to our posterity all the happiness given in earthly possessions.

SOME MINOR OBJECTIONS NOTED.

It is said that the system is beneficial in a sanitary point of view; that it prevents the increase of disease. Upon this point we find the greatest difference of opinion among men of medical experience. Some of the best physicians of our city and of the world, contend that the position assumed by the friends of this law, is untenable. My

examination has convinced me that no sanitary benefits flow from it. But even if there did, it would receive no countenance or support from me. Statistics taken in military towns, in lands where standing armies exist, have little weight with me in the consideration of this subject. Conclusions so drawn are immaterial.

I want, in fact, Mr. Chairman, the penalty of disease still to be attached to the crime of prostitution. My opponent argues that the innocent suffers thereby. So it is in the commission of all crimes. One of the strongest deterrents from the commission of offenses, to a man of reflection, is the fact that its consequences fall upon those innocent parties attached to him in the associations of life. How often when the passion rages and the hot blood courses the veins is the storm ruled and subsided by the conjured face of the innocent wife and beautiful children. No, let the penalty stand, as man and God in their laws have pronounced it.

In connection with this sanitary phase of the subject, I might say something in regard to these medical examinations under this law. I have little or no faith in them. The physicians who perform them are, doubtless, generally speaking, honest and conscientious. They are the subjects of temptation, however, as well as men of all other classes and professions. They are just as liable to be vitiated. They are not all Josephs. They deal with dangerous associates. Adam fell; might not they? Review the consequences for yourself.

I have heard it remarked, Mr. Chairman, that one of the disabilities of prostitution under the old law was that prostitutes were frequently made the subject of black-mail on the part of policemen. I have only to say that after a thorough examination of this law, I have decided that there never was one passed in this country giving such unheard of arbitrary powers to supervising officials.

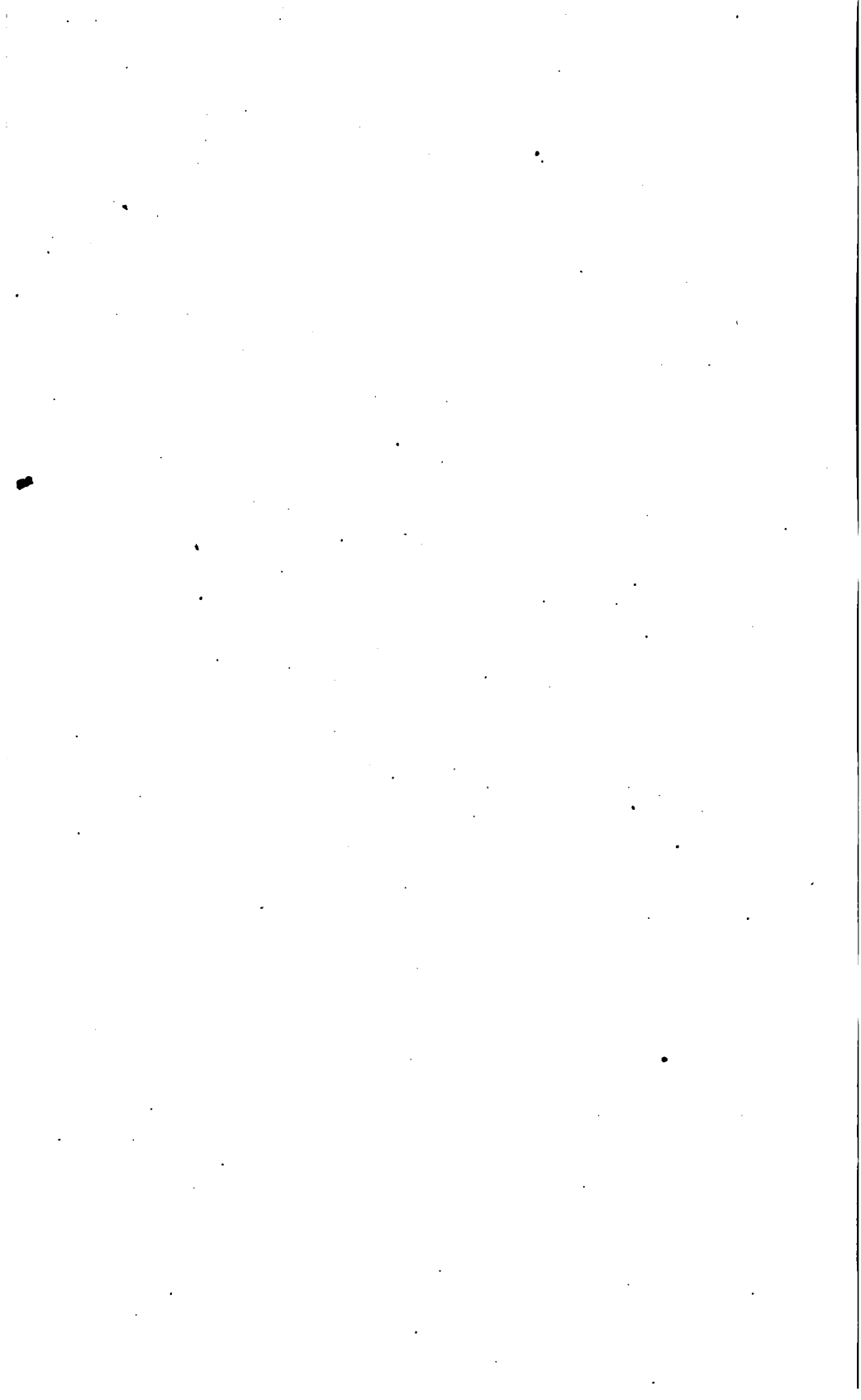
The means for perpetrating a criminal espionage is a hundred fold greater than ever before; and let me not forget to remark in this connection, this moreover grants the authority for the designation and location of the houses for the purposes of prostitution, and it may not be saying too much that in making this selection the advantages to the rich man may overshadow that of the poor man.

And where goes the proceeds of this license for prostitution, Mr. Chairman? We find that a hospital has been built, as heretofore referred to, for the purpose of taking care of diseased prostitutes, and it is claimed that many reformatations are made here. It may be that there are some; but if every one that went there were reformed it would not in the least mitigate or counterbalance the evils of this system as I have depicted them. There are thousands of ways in which the spirit of reformation could be performed with equal force and

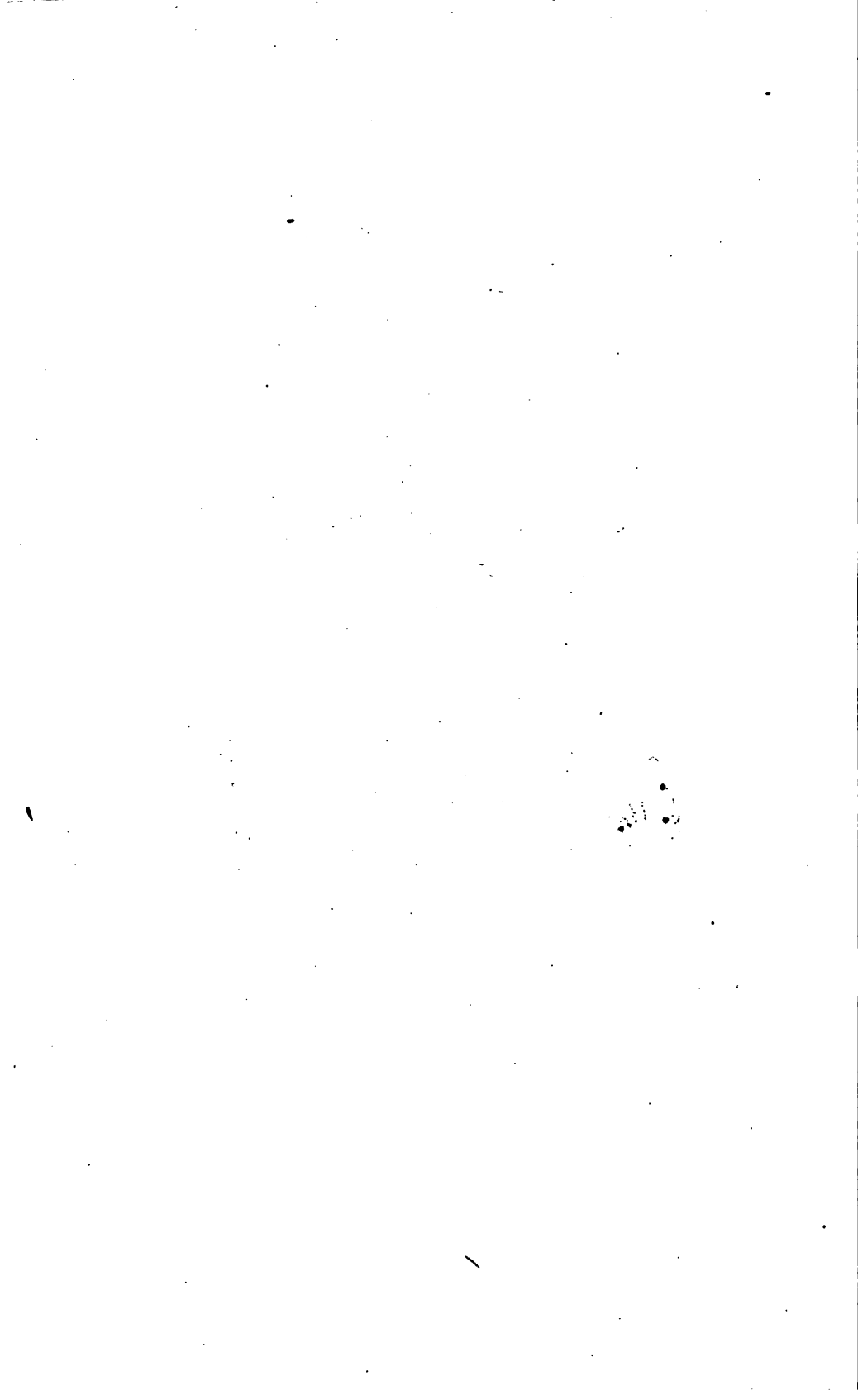
vigor. This fund has so far accumulated as to be about as much as is needed for hospital purposes, and we are therefore to have a rapidly accumulating fund successfully managed by official supervision in St. Louis. This may call into play the recognition of another element in the political contests for local positions. The influence of these thriving managers of the new industry may be able to decide the issue in close and excited contests.

CONCLUSION.

Mr. Chairman, I did not intend to detain the Committee as long as I have, but the further I have discussed the question, the more I have realized the importance of the subject. I have spoken from experience, from observation and from reflection. I have spoken earnestly, because I do believe the law to be a disgrace to the city and the State. To you, Senators, permit me to say, that the active duties of the term of the office to which I have been elevated by the kind suffrages of the people will soon terminate. I have had the opportunity, since my elevation, to do some things in association with you affording me pleasure and satisfaction; but to-day an opportunity is given to do that which will afford me a most pleasing recollection as long as life lasts. It is given me to plead for the right, and to present that plea in behalf, not only of the four thousand women whose names are signed to the petition, as presented by the Senator of St. Louis, Mr. Ittner, but in behalf of every true and virtuous woman in the State of Missouri; and as you value the love of daughter, of wife, and mother, I ask you in the name of morality, I ask in the name of law, I ask in the name of justice, and I ask in the name of religion, that you grant their supplication! I have done.









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